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Victims of the City in Novels of Zola and Dostoevsky

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Marta L. Wilkinson,
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Abstract: In her article "Victims of the City in Novels of Zola and Dostoevsky" Marta L. Wilkinson argues that urbanity in its nineteenth-century setting functioned as the culpable agent in criminal behavior found in Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* and in several of Zola's Rougon-Macquart novels. Wilkinson presents an analysis of the novels based on Merlin Coverly's concept of psychogeography which supports the extension of the cityscape as an integral part of the novels' characters. Further, Wilkinson illustrates how in Zola's and Dostoevsky's novels the city reigns triumphant as characters fall victim to disease, drink, or are left with desperate choices: in Dostoevsky's novel suicide or banishment to Siberia and in Zola's novels the acceptance of inhuman life in the complicit city.

Marta L. WILKINSON

Victims of the City in Novels of Zola and Dostoevsky

The St. Petersburg streets in Fyodor Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* are as much a part of main protagonist Raskolnikov's projections and associative memory as is Dostoevsky's perception of justified crime. The narrative is composed of fragmented descriptions affected by loss of consciousness and drink creating an urban space akin to that of Zola's Paris, similarly described through the lens of alcohol and impoverished morality. While Joseph Frank likens Dostoevsky's use of the city to that of Balzac and Dickens asserting that the city is a haunting specter of Raskolnikov's crime, I contend that Raskolnikov's compulsive retreat to the pavement is a mechanism by which he seeks to resolve his actions by confronting the source (see Frank 96-97). The source of the crime is St. Petersburg itself. The complicity of the city in this manner is repeated throughout Emile Zola's Rougon-Macquart series as *La Curée* (*The Kill*) indicts Paris as a "ville complice" (173). The nineteenth-century city-dweller is determined through an associative structure with the city streets they inhabit, cities permeating the boundaries of the body to become part of each character. This complicity is explored in the living, breathing organism that devours Gervaise in *L'Assommoir*, a monstrosity that her daughter Nana later embodies. As such, each character is merely an agent at the mercy of the will of an urban unconscious.

Raskolnikov misinterprets the restricted setting of *Crime and Punishment* as a representation of all society, rather than as a microcosm. The reader is compelled to participate in this limited perception of St. Petersburg as the narrative only provides descriptions blurred by the social, physical and emotional isolation that plague the main character. This description is further fragmented as Raskolnikov drifts in and out of consciousness and occasional drunkenness. The text varies between descriptions of how "scores of times before, of course, he had gone home without being able to remember which streets he had passed through" to the absence of entire days in imitation of Raskolnikov's vacillating experience and awareness (*Crime* 52). Despite such blackouts owing either to exhaustion, drunkenness or fever, Raskolnikov always manages to stumble back to his apartment and still knows his way around — to the exact number of steps, for example — between his door and that of the building of Alyona's apartment: "seven hundred and thirty" (*Crime* 3). These details indicate two things: unconscious memory and a compulsion to repetition. Despite his state of consciousness or sobriety, his repetitive habit of walking the streets has allowed for their pattern not only to imprint in his mind, but to become an integral part of his persona.

The patterns created by Raskolnikov's repetitive walking simulate the dynamics necessary to an experience of psychogeography as presented by Merlin Coverly: "the point at which psychology and geography collide" (10; for a recent collection on the narration of landscape and the city, see Verraest, Keunen, Bollen). Raskolnikov's internalization of the physical spaces of St. Petersburg are reflected not only in his moods and behaviors, but supports an exploration of the "behavioral impact of an urban place" (Coverly 10). By no means a *flâneur*, Raskolnikov's story nevertheless interweaves a variety of histories as evidenced by the polyphony of the narrative in sum as well as the necessary assembling of an individual experience fractured into a larger mosaic (on the *flâneur*, see, e.g., Tester). Walking through the spaces of the modern city is described by Coverly as "an act of subversion" as it is an action contrary to the nature of a modern urban space as the street-level experience engages with the very elements that modern planning seeks to hide from view: the marginal in its various forms (Coverly 12). The literal filth of persons, animals, and industry, the piles of refuse discarded in the streets, the poverty of the walkers with their worn-down shoes and clothing covered in the splatter and spray of passers-by, the street vendors, urchins, and prostitutes all pollute and expose the various disgraces of urban overcrowding. The walker also has access to alleys and odd spaces below and between the larger planned edifices that give the modern cities their form. The pedestrian can use these passages to slip between and avoid the thoroughfares which are intended to be travelled by the urban planners. The pedestrian circumvents the plan and control of the city layout, thus subverting order by appropriating the marginal spaces. This existence *hors de contrôle* is by default the breeding ground of poverty and its inherent misery. Raskolnikov's own tendency towards self-absorption evidenced in his many unresolved issues of identity, gender, and social stratification

limits any awareness of his own participation in, and internalization of, the marginal elements that comprise his milieu. This tendency in his character parallels the narrative technique that minimizes rather than expands the setting. Despite the web of city streets the reader is told Raskolnikov stumbles around in, the greatest descriptions are of small and specific locales: Raskolnikov's rooming house, the public house in which he first encounters Marmeladov, and the various apartments of the Marmeladovs, Alyona, and Sonia. These spaces reveal the relationship between the characters and the urban interiors and exteriors. Much as the interiors of the domestic space of the bourgeoisie served as extensions of the women who decorated and entertained in them, the interiors frequented by the lower classes and their dwellings similarly tell stories about their inhabitants.

Before the reader is introduced to Raskolnikov's own living quarters, the narrative explores the public house and the Marmeladov apartment. The description of the public house implies a literal and figurative descent. The owner descends via a flight of stairs so that he enters into the space feet first; this descent marks his occasional visits to the nether regions of society, or similarly alludes to the direction in which a funeral bier would be carried to its destination. He is greasy from his boots to his face, a condition which likens him to an "iron lock" (*Crime* 8). The claustrophobic nature of the setting with its descent and warden is completed with an "unbearable" stuffiness "so saturated with alcohol that it almost seemed that five minutes in it would be enough to make one drunk" (*Crime* 8). This same atmosphere is repeated in Zola's *L'Assommoir* as within Père Colombe's bar "a smell of spirits rose up, an alcoholic vapour which seemed to make even the dust-motes spinning about in the sunlight dense and drunken" (34). The tainted and unhealthful air impacts both the space and its occupants as the very act of breathing infects rather than restores in these settings. The basic need for respiration tainted by the toxic fumes of alcohol present a slow and deliberate act of poisoning as an ubiquitous component of the social matrix. Such penetration and internalization is most obvious in Zola's description of Nana's upbringing. In *L'Assommoir*, "she'd stop in her tracks, feeling the warmth of the Paris paving stones creeping up her thighs" (366). The description of this process continues in *Nana*, particularly in the newspaper article, "La Mouche d'Or," wherein Nana is described as having "grown up in the slums, in the gutters of Paris … nurtured on a dung heap … a fly which had sucked death from the carrion left by the roadside" (*Nana* 221).

Shortly after leaving the public house and now in Marmeladov's company, Raskolnikov helps the former civil servant ascend the stairwell to his dwelling. This stairwell, rather than leading up to light (particularly during spring in St. Petersburg) leads further into darkness. Everything in the Marmeladov apartment is described as "grimy," "disordered," or "ragged," and the inhabitants are no exception (*Crime* 20). The most significant detail of their apartment however is not its squalor; Raskolnikov's notices that this dwelling is in fact not even an apartment, but rather a passageway. This space is one that others pass through on their way to other destinations and is thus a transitory or connective space parallel to the city streets outside. Raskolnikov's repugnance at their conditions is further evidence of his own disconnect: their situation mirrors his own, they too are inhabitants of yet another street not unlike those he reverts to during his moments of crisis. When he attempts to leave the Marmeladov passageway, he really only substitutes that transitory space for that of the streets; a sense of comfort comes not from a feeling of relief at the escape from the scene before him, but rather from a return to a more familiar filth. As Raskolnikov gazes "round his little room with loathing" the self-loathing that drives the text is introduced (23). The low ceiling that threatens to bump him on the head forewarns the blow that he will strike Alyona with as well as the schism alluded to in his name. The general condition of the room, "yellowish," "dusty," "peeling," "wretchedly shabby," all mark the illness that permeates Raskolnikov's persona (23). The final detail given in that passage affirms this with his choice to no longer sort dirty from clean linens, but rather to bundle them both up together for use as a pillow.

Raskolnikov's choice of routes, stated directly in the text as the "dirty and stinking courtyards of the houses," the public houses, "backstreets and alleys" reinforce his dedication to restricted spaces and interiors (52; on urban spaces in St. Petersburg, see, e.g., Brower). The claustrophobia of the setting is compounded by Raskolnikov's tendency to lurk on stairwells, connective spaces that Fanger affirms link the public and private, or interior and exterior spaces (196). While Raskolnikov believes that his superior capacities are limited to his thoughts and mission for justice in the name of the greater good, his real interior is not his mind, but the innards of the city itself. The innards of the

city's body reflect the innards of Raskolnikov's unconscious and the conflict of drives that gnaws away at his body, his reasoning, and his morality. The novel proves his investment in "personal" backstreets and alleys representing the conflict of drives that ends by letting the pleasure principle take over in his act of murder. Raskolnikov is a walking embodiment of the conflict central to Sigmund Freud's Pleasure Principle: *thanatos* pushes his desire to destroy his situation and himself (as the axe-blow which kills Alyona is interpreted as a strike to himself) and his struggle with *eros* compels him to deny his fault and prevents him from both a jump into the Neva or the bullet in the brain that Svidrigailov opts for. Both drives are marked by interruptions of the reality principle, even the death drive that accomplishes murder only fulfills its wishes after the delay of planning, of counting steps, of sewing a loophole into his coat. Had he not overheard the conversation in the pub that allows him a window of opportunity during which Alyona will be alone in the apartment it is unclear whether or not his desire to kill would have actually come to fruition. This same principle also taunts him with physical reminders of reality such as hunger and his interdependence with and on others when he receives the letter from his mother. His example is really but one in a society plagued with these struggles.

Such a limited scope within a sprawling urban metropolis is paralleled in Zola's descriptions of Paris, particularly in *L'Assommoir*, where the setting is reduced from all of Paris, to the Rue de la Goutte d'Or**,** to the one hôtel (better described as tenement building). The panorama of this building establishes a world unto itself with its own logic, organization, stratification, and agency as Zola describes: "And Gervaise let her eyes move slowly from the top of the building down to the ground and back up again, astonished at the sheer size of it, feeling herself inside the core of a living organism, in the very heart of a city, intrigued by the building as if she were in the presence of some gigantic human being" (*L'Assommoir* 46). The proportions of this building combined with the sensation that it is an animate being leave little room to describe it as anything other than monstrous. Interiors are revealed through the dilapidated and neglected façade "bursting at the seams, expelling bits of … misery through every crack" (45). The simile describing the building as a human being indicates the blurred distinction between object and agent: Gervaise's presence in the heart of this gigantic city illustrates a similar lack of separation between interiors and exteriors as illustrated in Raskolnikov's character.

Unlike the frequent parallels between St. Petersburg and Paris discussed in scholarship treating Dostoevsky and the narratives of Balzac, Zola's Paris provides a stronger parallel as his Paris is far more destitute and hopeless than the Paris which Eugène de Rastignac, for example, challenges in *Père Goriot* (see Moser 17). The continued reduction of society to one limited space is intensified in *Nana* with the description of the interior of the Variétés Theater and the claim that, "The whole of Paris was there … It was a singularly mixed world, composed of all the talents, and tarnished by all the vices, a world where the same fatigue and the same fever appeared in every face" (28). Beyond a glimpse of society in microcosm, the theater is also an interior, one ironically intended for performative display. The performance that opens the novel is one of a prolonged striptease at the end of which Nana stands unveiled, nude before all of Paris.

Zola's "mixed world" is a by-product of the modern urban setting reflected in the physical make up of the city, specifically the newly Haussmannized Paris with its dissection of the more organically developed city that grew up over the course of various centuries, suddenly intersected and divided by avenues and other city-planning devices that make it and life there better, bigger, stronger, and more easily accessible (see, e.g., Benjamin; Berman; Harvey). St. Petersburg too is an artificially constructed city, or in the words of the Underground man, "the most abstract and intentional city on the entire globe" (*Underground* 7). The systematic layout of landfill, canals, and bridges is just as artificially and superficially imposed as the Hausmannization of Paris, and was designed primarily around the Peter-Paul fortress for military reasons. St. Petersburg was designed to keep some out and others in, much as the boulevards of Haussmann's Paris sought to divide its inhabitants into *quartiers* marked with just as much specific intent. At the core of this renovation lies an implicit violence as indicated by Zola's language in *The Kill* to describe the process: "From the Boulevard du temple to the Barrière du Trône, that's one cut; then on this side another, from the Madeleine to the Plaine Monceau; and a third cut this way, another that way, a cut there, one further on, cuts everywhere, Paris slashed with sabre cuts, its veins opened" (69). Rather than employ language that indicates growth, development, or renovation, the description is that of violent and brutal dissection. The city

lies a helpless bleeding victim to mechanization by urban planners. The open veins indicate that the blood, the very life force of the living being, will be drained as the desires of the planners and speculators to realize their vision dominate these acts accomplished by the cuts of **a** saber, a weapon that punctures and impales.

Imitative of the violence imposed upon the city itself, the characters are not at one with the city in any natural way or in a manner that might suggest the city as a nurturing mother who produces and raises her inhabitants. In Zola's description, the city is the artificial, the mechanical, a part and parcel of "the machine" which "would be the death of the manual worker," that is to say, the human component (*L'Assommoir* 172). Zola brings this prediction to fruition in *La Bête humaine* as industrial production extends far beyond the city limits where the same violent slashing that has altered Paris rips through a countryside "cut in two by the railway" (31). This parallel to the description of the city renovated by sabre cuts extends not only the violence but the city limits, or rather defends the idea that the city no longer has limits. As the rails extend over the countryside, the mechanical penetrates the tranquility and peace idealized by the Romantics. The passing train cars brings with them their "eternal passions" and "eternal crimes" (44). Much like the monstrous façade that make**s** Gervaise feel that she is in the presence of some gigantic human being, the railway system too is personified in even more frightening proportions as a "giant creature laid out on the ground with its head in Paris, its vertebrae the length of the track, its limbs stretching out with every branch-line" (44). Unlike the hotel buried in the depths of Paris, this creature also has the capacity to grow, to take on new forms, and to continue extending its seemingly unlimited reach.

While the relationship between desire, people, and machine drives the story of Jacques Lantier, the greatest carnage in the novel is done at the hand (or, rather, at the wheels of) the machine itself. The greatest loss of human life is brought about when Flore's jealously drives her to cause a derailment that destroys La Lison at the expense of dozens of human casualties. Flore's failure to win Jacques is a commentary on man's own jealousy and inability to compete with technology. Not only does this scene illustrate the supremacy of technology and its potential to re-map modern life, but Zola's mass murder by train wreck reveals death on a scale heretofore unprecedented outside of the battlefield. Never before in history had one tool, one device, been wielded as such a weapon of mass destruction. Never before had destruction reached the horrific proportions of those in his novel as the "pile of human flesh, palpitating and running with blood, never seemed to get any smaller" (*Bête* 296). The derailment provides a second occasion in the novel during which the well-traveled passengers are compelled out of their experience of the commute that they know well and into an engagement with the unknown as they are forced to leave the safety and modern comfort of the train and step out into the actual countryside, into the lives and spaces of the rail workers such as Misard. Unlike the snowstorm that stalls La Lison and creates a scene of confrontation between the Misard home and the uninvited passengers seeking asylum from the storm, the derailment is a collision of machine and beast, city and country, as well as a spectacle of unchained violence taking place in one's own backyard. Violence and death on a scale unknown outside of war is now strewn over the countryside, and into the daily experience of the men, women and children involved. The safe and tranquil nature of the countryside is no longer so as the destruction of the city proves to be a dominant force in nature too.

The destruction of natural elements, followed by the reorganization and prioritization of the mechanical are translated in Zola's novels into descriptions of pagan idols, the golden calves of these man-made and otherwise godless spaces. In *The Kill*, "the beautiful Mme Saccard," Renée, whose dressing room is the talk of Paris, is referred to as a "goddess" with her "Diana-like head" and "unblemished body" who transforms into "the white sister" of the "marble sphinx, its haunches gleaming in the moonlight" (151, 157). In *Nana* all of Paris throw their lives and fortunes away into the gaping, man-eating vortex that is Paris, therein represented by Nana's vagina. This vagina is that of Venus herself, epitomized in a bed described as an "altar of Byzantine luxury" dedicated to "an awe-inspiring idol" (444). When Nana the idol, the beautiful Venus, smiles, the voluntary submission of Paris is tainted by the fear of its own unchained desires as expressed in her "deadly smile of a man-eater" (45). At the moment of this smile, she transforms from a smiling Venus into a snarling Medusa. When Raskolnikov kisses the pavement at the crossroads of the market, it is an act of prostration before the city and by which he accepts unto himself the guilt and subsequent punishment for his acts

(444-445). While this enables his penance, he also submits unconditionally to the will of the city he previously sought to defeat.

As the city streets are not merely by-ways, but significant and contributing agents, their role in framing character intensifies as they serve as an extension of character. Two contributing elements accomplish this: First, the compulsion to repetition fueled by repression links the character's mind to the city streets. Second, the physical repetition allows for the street to become a cathected part of the body image, linking the character's body itself. Raskolnikov's walking is a characteristic of Freud's hypothesis: the constant return to the streets is indicative of Raskolnikov's desire to master his situation, and thus himself. He is in many ways the victim of circumstance, his declared separation of body and mind evident in his neglect of his body by denying it food, decent clothing and often warmth are very much akin to eating disorders which today are understood as struggles for control over the self via control over the body. Once he has accomplished this dismissal of his physical state, he struggles with situational control — he returns to the streets in an act of repetition compulsion which only increases his exposure to the very ills he seeks to escape. Repetition compulsion results in two vicious cycles dominating the subject in question: the first is repetition itself, an action attributed to the subject's need to come to terms with overpowering stimuli. The second vicious cycle serves as evidence to trauma, as the subject seeks resolution through repetition, but that same action comes to represent mastery, a tendency which at that point is based on the pleasure principle (see Kitron 429-30). So what was a need to understand and control becomes an outlet that provides security, comfort, and eventually, dependency. All of these elements are evident in the comfort and solace Raskolnikov seeks in his pedestrian excursions. The narrator affirms that Raskolnikov feels better on the streets, takes "pleasure in [his] visit to the public house" and tends to respond to both information and emotion by retreating to the city streets (*Crime* 8). Beyond dependence, the city is a necessary part of his self-identification as it represents everything he loathes in himself. When he presents the distinction between "ordinary" and "extraordinary" people in his article, "Concerning Crime," he describes his inner conflict and the paradox around which the novel centers: his desire to be extraordinary confronted with his very ordinary reality.

Raskolnikov's constant contact with the city streets causes them to become inscribed into his own body, or rather, into his body image. The term "body image" applies here as it is explained by Elizabeth Grosz as something that is "as much a function of the subject's psychology and socio-historical context as of anatomy" (79). Describing this relationship and dependence of the body image on its exteriors she elaborates: "The limits or borders of the body image are not fixed by nature or confined to the anatomical 'container,' the skin. The body image is extremely fluid and dynamic; its borders, edges, and contours are 'osmotic' — they have the remarkable power of incorporating and expelling outside and inside in an ongoing interchange" (79). Grosz explains that anything coming into contact with the body for an extended period of time is incorporated into the body. This incorporation results from the intrusion of objects or elements into the "zone" that surrounds each body. This zone is "individually, sexually, racially, and culturally variable" (79). She continues with a discussion of physical objects (such as clothing or jewelry) that affect the body image, elements that in Dostoesvky's description make up an essential attribute of Raskolnikov's milieu as he is literally enveloped by such items. He is described as "wretchedly dressed" so much so that anybody else "might have hesitated to go out in daylight in such rags" (*Crime* 2). Raskolnikov's "scorn" however cause him to feel "no embarrassment," and just one paragraph later he resolves to rid himself of his rather conspicuous hat and find a "sort of old cap" to go with his rags (3). These actions indicate that he recognizes the important significance of clothing in his desire to blend into the cityscape. As clothing is a primary indentifying marker, this author suggests that a constant exposure to the city streets has the same effect. Thus for Raskolnikov, the constant contact with the streets results in a similar incorporation into his body image.

Grosz explains also the relationship between the individual and elements which become libidinally cathected parts of body image. She explains how objects which were separate from the body become fused with the body image and then receive the same psychical investment as do other more traditionally "attached" parts such as arms and legs. In this sense, the exterior item ceases to be an "object" and becomes instead a medium necessary to the individual for the fulfillment of his/her role. This is explained with the example of the surgeon whose scalpel and other implements are necessary

for the fulfillment of the surgeon's image, or the musical instrument that is understood as a necessary part of the musician's persona (Grosz 80). In like manner, city streets are absorbed by the characters of the urban novels. In the case of Raskolnikov, the city is not merely a specter of his crime, but a significant and necessary part of himself.

Dostoevsky describes a clear experience of psychogeography as Raskolnikov's crime evidences the impact of the urban setting on behavior. Raskolnikov's subversive pedestrian excursions make the poverty and desperation of the city reflected through various characters in the novel a part of himself. The prideful denial of Katerina Ivanovna is a mirror to his own refusal to take on the various jobs offered him that would improve his physical destitution; the self-sacrifice of both Sonia and Dunya are reminders to him of his failure to provide support to those dependent on him; even the various nameless waifs who illustrate the various stages of perdition that lead to suicide represent the lack of options of the desperate of St. Petersburg. All these various examples of desperation, largely the only observations made by the protagonist, characterize the behaviors and qualities of the city. This process of inscription and cathexis can be considered what Grosz would term an "involuntary" marking owing to the lack of intent on the part of the character. The city in these novels permeates and infects its inhabitants without conscious decision. Maguire's exploration of the city argues that Raskolnikov is "subject to larger forces, and is not simply projecting his own mind onto the city," for rather than outward in a form of projection this essay argues that the force at work is internalization (27-28). The "social and moral pathology" generated in the urban decay is transferred from the streets to the characters, describing the very real social phenomenon of nineteenth-century urban life (see Alter 54). Dostoevsky and Zola too found their inspiration in the streets or in the newspapers filling the streets — inspiration which consequently appeared in their novels. The front-page news of the trial of an axe-murderer, the press careers of both Dostoevsky and Zola, and the positioning of crime reports juxtaposed to the popular *faits divers* all contribute to nineteenth-century urban setting (on *faits divers*, see, e.g., Reisinger Streifford). The city thus permeates the characters, and much like the adage "you are what you eat," makes them agents of a will that is not their own. The characters of these urban novels represent the interwoven histories of the sum of the milieu's desperate and violent parts.

In his philosophies regarding the development of modern nations, the Marquis de Sade defends that as their very existence is owed to violent acts, they can only be maintained by violence as well (333). Urban spaces and the complications they create are human productions, both created and sustained by certain methods and thus producing very specific conditions. Donald Fanger reinforces such a philosophy in direct relation to Raskolnikov: "Theories, like cities, are made by men and their creators must come to terms with them" (194). The situation Zola and Dostoevsky draw upon in their novels is that of mankind facing its own creation, a creation that displays its creator’s most primal self. The innate violence that social living requires mankind to suppress actually ends up with certain utilitarian value. The overcrowded nineteenth-century urban space can only foster and sustain so many inhabitants; acts like murder rid it of the burden. Think of overpopulation as a sustainability issue, as Sade would again defend that a moderate population will never be "large enough to overthrow your regime" (336). As a living organism, the city seeks to survive, and survive it does at the cost of the minions who live there. The characters are both sacrifice and sustenance to their host as is best described with the runaway engine and its literal passengers that close *La Bête humaine*: "What did the victims matter that the machine destroyed on its way? Wasn't it bound for the future, heedless of spilt blood? With no human hand to guide it through the night, it roared on and on, a blind and deaf beast let loose amid death and destruction" (366).

The city reigns triumphant as characters fall victim to disease, drink, or are left with the two desperate choices that Svidrigaylov offers: "a bullet through the brain, or Siberia" (*Crime* 423). They then adopt the defense suggested by Zola as Renée Saccard leans "out into the darkness, she inhale[s] the quivering silence, the alcove-like fragrance, as an encouragement from below, as an assurance of shame shared and accepted by a complicitous city" (*The Kill* 133). This complicity creates a matrix in which responsibility is shared, thus illustrating the simple rationale made famous (or infamous?) by Stanley Milgram. When responsibility is not individual, neither is fault: "there is a fragmentation of the total human act; no one is confronted with the consequences of his decision to carry out the evil act. The person who assumes responsibility has evaporated" (Milgram 225). In each

case the character may rest assured that it was not his or her fault, for when it comes right down to it, the city did it.

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